VII

Early notices of the Mundurucu -- Historical records

The Mundurucu villages are located in the valley of the mighty Tapajoz, which was discovered only 130 years ago, in 1748, when the miner João de Sousa de Azevedo traveled down the river from Mato-Grosso to Pará, carrying sixty-four drams of gold extracted from one of its tributaries which he named the Rio das Três Barras. [91]

In his Corographia Brasilica of 1817, Ayres de Cazal divided the province of Pará into four large districts, bounded naturally by the four great tributaries of the Amazon, the Tocantins, the Xingu, the Tapajoz, and the Madeira. For obvious reasons of Mundurucu preponderance in the area, he gave the name of Mundurucania to the district bounded in the east by the Tapajoz, in the west by the Madeira, in the north by the Amazon and in the south by the Juruena. In describing Mundurucania, this author says that with the exception of a few stretches along the banks of the rivers which bound it, the district was completely dominated by various savage nations, the best known being the Juma, the Maué, the Pama, the Parintintin, the Mura, the Andirá, the Arara, and the Mundurucu after whom the country was named.

"The Mundurucu," Ayres de Cazal goes on to say, "who have the custom of dyeing their bodies black with genipap, are numerous, tall, warlike, and feared by all the other nations, who give them the name of Pai-quice, which means 'head-cutter,' owing to their custom of chopping off the head of any foe who falls into their hands; and they know how to embalm it so as to preserve for many years the appearance it had on being cut.

"They adorn their crude and wretched huts with these horrid trophies. The man who can exhibit ten of them is qualified to be elected chief of the band. They know the virtues of various plants, which they use in curing certain dangerous ailments.

"Nearly all Mundurucu bands are today our allies, and some are already christianized.

776 The only trace of higher belief
I could find is in the language, [394] which has a word (getüut) for God and another (cäuschi) for devil. The pajé is also considered by them to be a powerful and fearful person. He is thought of as a relative of the devil or as a person possessed [Inspirirter]. For his medical help he is rewarded with cotton thread or weapons as he is among the Apiacas with whom, in fact, the Mundrucus have a number of customs and usages in common.

●175 Before 1770 the Mundrucus were hardly known in Brazil by name.
648 But then they burst forth in numerous hordes all along the Rio Tapajôz, destroyed the settlements and made themselves so dreaded that troops had to be despatched against them, troops they resisted fearlessly. In the 1780's a troop more than two thousand men strong came out of their malocas, crossed the Xingund Tocantins rivers and marched to the western border of Maranhâo province spreading war and despo[illegible]ion as they went. But there they suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the warlike Apinayes and only remnants from the murderous battle were left to move north to the Mojû rivers where they devastated the Portuguese farms. * Forced back by the united planters, they f[illegible]lly

* The so-called "Guajajaras" are supposed to be a splinter group dating from that time. In 1818 they were put into villages near Cerzedello on the Rio Gurupi Corografia paraënse p. 117. Perhaps Guaia-jaz? p. 383.

retreated to the rest of the tribe on the Tapajôz. The government sent after them a detachment of 300 men which came upon a heavily populated maloca ten days after leaving the river. Encircled by enemies they fought their way through with great difficulty and finally reached the banks of the river. The Mundrucus are reputed to have lost nearly 1,000 men. The statement comes from a chieftain who made the first treaty and who used his notched stick as reference. Their inclination for war allowed them only a short rest. They went to war against the Muras, who for a long time had rendered the waterways of the Amazon uncertain and had plundered many a settlement. They waged against them so horrible a war of extinction that the Muras in 1785 yielded in Maripi to the Portuguese and promised permanent friendship. Then they

175 turned on the previously mentioned Parintintins, Parintins
448 (Paráraukátes or Uauvrivait), and recently on the Apiacas above Salto Augusto on the Tapajoz with whom thirty years ago they had been at peace. *

* Lour. da Silva Araujo Amazonas Diccionar. topogr. etc. da Comarca do Alto-Amazonas. Recife 1852. 206.

In 1803 the first aldea of the Mundrucus, S. Cruz, seven days journey above Santarem on the Tapajôz, was founded and since that time the whole tribe has been at peace with the Brazilians. Several
[197] of their large villages have been turned into missions and trade with the whites. In S. Cruz, Boim, Pinhel, and the rest of the village on
[161] the Tapajôz 1,000 bows (fighting men) were counted, in the mission of Mauhe 1,600, in that of Juruty 1,000. **

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** This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the villages on the Tapajoz produce 6,000 Metzen [one Metze = 1.05 bu.] of manioc flour a year, those of Mauhé 1,500 and those of Canomá 800. This was exported for the most part to Santarem and neighboring places. They are fond of giving large quantities of flour to their priests. In 1819 the Mundrucus of Canamá gathered 900 arrobas of cinnamon and an equal quantity of sarsparilla and sold it. With such a tendency to bourgeois industry they all might have been expected to settle themselves among the whites. At the time of my visit this was hindered by their dislike of public service away from their families. They were pressed to do this kind of work in the cities.

174 A number of considerations, particularly similar customs, organization for war [396] and numerous speech elements, all traceable to the Tupi, make it appear likely to me that these Mundrucûs originally

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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[0] though related linguistically to the *Mundurucú*, are to be regarded as an independent tribe (this volume, p. 221), and that the *Njambikwara* (see *Nambicuara*, p. 361) are not properly classified as *Mundurucú* on any basis.

Martius (1867) reported a group related to the *Mundurucú*, known as the *Guajajara*, who were settled on the Gurupí River near Cerzedello in 1818. The writer has found no further reference to this name in the literature dealing with the *Mundurucú*. (The *Guajajara-Tembé* are a tribe near the east coast of Brazil, page 137.)

According to native tradition, the *Wiaunyen*, at the headwaters of the Mutum River, should be classed as a subtribe of the *Mundurucú*.

The *Mundurucú* refer to themselves as *Weidyénye* (our own, our people) (Kruse, 1934). *Mundurucú* (*Mundurukú*, *Mundurucû*, *Mondurucû*, *Mundrucû*, *Moturicû*, etc.) is the name applied to them by the *Parintintin*, in whose language it denotes a species of ant (Strömer, 1932). A nickname widely used by Neo-Brazilians is *Paiquizé* (*Paikyce*) (Martius, 1867) or *Paikise*, meaning "father knife" or "head-cutter." They are sometimes called *Caras Pretas* ("black face"), in reference to their facial tattooing. (See Kruse (1934), who gives an extensive list of names used by other tribes to designate the *Mundurucú*.)

POPULATION

[6] In 1887, Martius estimated the *Mundurucú* at 18,000 to 40,000, but Strömer believes that, on the basis of known settlement sites, a maximum population of 10,000 at the period of Contact is indicated. Tocantins (1877) listed 21 villages with populations ranging from 100 to 2,600 and a total population of 18,910. According to Campana, there were at the turn of the century about 1,400 individuals in 37 communities in the Tapajóz area. The largest village had 700 inhabitants, and the smallest less than a dozen. Strömer (1932) found 19 settlements with a total of 1,200 to 1,400 inhabitants in 1931, and fewer still in 1937. Both Campana's and Strömer's figures refer only to the population of the main area of concentration. Kruse gives a population of 950 for the Tapajóz group and 800 for the Canumá group.

HISTORY

[175] [726] The first reference to the *Mundurucú* was published in 1768 when Monteiro Noronha[3] listed the "*Maturucú*" among the tribes on the Mauées River. In 1769, according to Manoel Baena (1885), the *Mundurucú* began to move northward along the Tapajóz River, forcing out or exterminating the *Jaguain* (*Javaim*, *Hy-au-ahim*), a warlike, cannibalistic tribe then occupying the middle Tapajóz. A "*Mondruci*" settlement a day's journey below the mouth of the Arinos was reported by Almeida Serra in 1779. The *Mundurucú* reached and made unsuccessful attacks upon

[3] The writer has not seen all of the sources mentioned in this sketch of *Mundurucú* history; the material here summarized has been in part provided by Dr. Nimuendajú (personal communication).

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Sawarára and *Guruge* in 1780 and again in 1784. They attacked the *Mura* in the Madeira River region and a few years later dispersed their southern neighbors, the *Parintintin* (*Cawahiwa*). Their next expedition, involving an army of some 2,000 warriors, is said to have crossed the Xingú and Tocantins Rivers and to have reached the western limits of Maranhão Province. The expedition is said to have been defeated and turned back by the *Apinayé* (see Strömer, 1937), but according to Nimuendajú, it may be doubted that the *Mundurucú* actually went so far east. A Neo-Brazilian punitive force fought a 3-day battle with them on the Rio de Tropas (ca. 1794). Peace was established in 1795 or 1796.

Except for minor conflicts with neighboring tribes, the *Mundurucú* abandoned warfare and gradually relinquished the great territory they had seized. Missions were established on the Tapajóz in 1799 and on the Madeira in 1811. By 1865, the *Mundurucú* still living on the Madeira River had been sufficiently acculturated to be described as "civilized" (Hartt, 1885). A few of the villages of the Tapajóz region are said to preserve as much of the old culture as can survive without military organization, warfare, and head hunting (Strömer, 1932).

The site of the tribe prior to its northward drive along the Tapajóz is not definitely known. Kruse (1934) believes that they lived adjacent to the *Apiacá* in Mato Grosso; Martius (1867) thought that language and customs pointed to an origin still further south. It is Nimuendajú's opinion (personal communication), however, that the *Mundurucú* were originally located on the Rio de Tropas, where their principal settlements are found today and where the punitive expedition of 1794 found their chief military strength. *Mundurucú* legend attributes their origin to the town of Necodemus in this area.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Mundurucú* subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in *Mundurucú* economy. Martius (1867) says that this tribe formerly gathered wild rice along the Madeira and Irariá Rivers. They eat ants, larvae, and honey.

Some of the *Mundurucú* now have cattle. Though they do not use these as food, they will eat the meat of domestic animals if it is offered them.

In the aboriginal culture, wild fowl were kept in cages to provide plumage for the featherwork described below.

The *Mundurucú* are said to show great affection for their dogs. Women suckle puppies; when a dog dies it is given the same form of burial as a human being.

There are no published descriptions of *Mundurucú* hunting techniques, but accounts of hunting rituals indicate that tapirs, peccaries, hares, deer, and agoutis are hunted. One ritual simulates the use of a runway of stakes to trap peccaries. Intensive hunting occurs during the summer, when many families occupy temporary huts in the brush.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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of descent, is one of the preconditions to the development of matrilineality. That the latter change never occurred among the Mundurucú can be partially explained by the fact their subsequent involvement in the commercial exploitation of wild rubber has resulted in bilocality and neolocality (Murphy 1954).

It is because of this later breakdown of unilocality that my description of Mundurucú social organization will refer to mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society. Much of the social structure described below is still observable in certain conservative Mundurucú villages and served to supplement and corroborate information obtained from old informants.

THE MUNDURUCÚ

Since Mundurucú culture is not well documented, even for a South American group, a few prefatory remarks are in order. Linguistically, the Mundurucú have been classified as "remotely" Tupian by Nimuendajú (1938:975). However, a summary comparison of Mundurucú and Tupí indicates that if a genetic relationship does exist, it could only be very obscure and distant. It is possible that the substantial number of Tupian loan words in the Mundurucú lexicon had led Nimuendajú to an erroneous conclusion. The final resolution of this problem will be of importance to the prehistory of the Mundurucú and of the entire central Amazon basin.

The Mundurucú first came to the attention of the chroniclers in the late eighteenth century when they launched a series of strong raids against other Indian tribes and white colonists in the lower Amazon Valley. Their late appearance on the historical scene and subsequent northward thrust into the waters of the lower Madeira River suggest that the Mundurucú originated in the highlands of Mato Grosso and thence migrated northwards. However, their only known homeland is in the region of mixed gallery forest and savannah east of the upper Tapajós River, between 6° and 8° south latitude. This is where the remnants of the tribe are located today.

After their pacification by Portuguese colonial forces at the end of the eighteenth century, the Mundurucú entered into a long period of peaceful symbiosis with the whites (Almeida Serra 1869:4–5). Traders and government officials capitalised on the renowned aggressiveness of the Mundurucú by employing them as mercenary warriors against tribes still hostile to the whites. In 1835, their services were sought in the suppression of the Revolution of the Cabanas (Hartt 1885:132), and at the end of the nineteenth century their war parties were still being enlisted by the rubber traders of the Mádeira River (Coudreau 1897:59). Fighting was not the only source of trade goods for the Mundurucú. Since earliest times, the white settlers of the Amazon valley have exploited the natural products of the region to the neglect of agriculture. The resultant shortage of local sources of subsistence forced them to rely in part upon the products of the Indian gardens. Thus, the Mundurucú were deeply involved in the sale of surplus manioc flour as early as 1819 (Martius 1867: 395). Manioc flour continued to be their principal trade commodity until the late nineteenth century, when wild rubber assumed primacy (Tocantins 1877).

The middle of the nineteenth century found the Mundurucú of the upper

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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Tapajós to have established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the whites without the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The manioc trade had caused an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued with the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Munduruc warfare.

At this time there were at least twenty Munduruc villages, having a total population of approximately 5000. The communities were located in the middle of high savannah country, secure from surprise attacks and free of the insects and diseases of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting, the people led a secure existence. Their location and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION

The many villages of the Munduruc were politically autonomous but were linked by a series of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Munduruc felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the non-localised clan or the feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves. A primary dichotomy in the Munduruc world view was the separation of humanity into "people" and "outlanders." "Outlanders," with the exception of the whites and the Apiac Indians, were beings with whom the "people" could have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Munduruc war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outlanders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Munduruc villages. There they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and head tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the ingroup. The statuses and roles of captives were no different than those of any other Munduruc.

While unrelenting hostility and violence characterized the Munduruc attitude towards the outside world, the reverse was true of intragroup relations. Conflict between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggressions were suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the villages, in which co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy, warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participation. Since most statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, it would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

[i.e., The middle of the nineteenth century.—Analyst]

7: Murphy E-S (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCÚ

The Mundurucú, a Tupian speaking people, are presently located in a region of mixed forest and savannah east of the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, between the sixth and eighth degrees of south latitude. Highly acculturated and almost assimilated remnants of the tribe are also found on the Secunduri, Abacaxí and Maués Rivers in the adjoining state of Amazonas. The Mundurucú were first reported upon in the latter region in 1768 (Monteiro Noronha, 1862). Their military strength was rapidly impressed upon the colonists of the Amazon Valley, for they commenced a series of strong attacks upon forts along the Amazon River that continued until the colonial government retaliated and in 1795 struck at the Mundurucú homeland on the upper Tapajós River. There is no information on the impact of this attack on the Mundurucú, but they ceased raiding white settlements immediately thereafter and in time became active allies of the colonists and the Portuguese colonial government. So rapidly did the Mundurucú adapt to the whites that by 1817 Ayres de Casal (1817:237) wrote, "Nearly all of the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies, and some already are Christians." But the Mundurucú had by no means become pacific, and raids, often instigated by the whites, were pushed with unabated fury against other Indian tribes.

Shortly after their contact with the white colonists, segments of the Mundurucú were evidently in the process of migrating northward along the Tapajós River and into the country between the Tapajós and Madeira Rivers. The Mundurucú who settled in these more northerly regions soon became assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. Missions and mission-sponsored reductions were established in their midst at several locales, and their inhabitants intermarried with the Portuguese and mestiço colonists. The population of these Indian reductions declined throughout the century; Coudreau (1897:8) states that the old Mundurucú reduction of Ucituba had 485 Indians in 1833, 343 in 1848, 100 in 1869 and only 90 in 1895. Others, such as Boim and Itaituba, lost their Indian character and became Brazilian towns. By 1885 the process had advanced so far that Charles F. Hartt (1885:117) noted: "The Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in large part been lost."

The balance of the tribe, which remained south, or upstream, of the head of navigation of the Tapajós River, maintained relative autonomy. They conducted trade, at first in manioc flour and later in raw latex, with Brazilian traders who seasonally ascended the river, but no permanent Brazilian settlements were located above the Cachoeira de Maranhão, a series of impassable rapids. At the end of the century, however, the boom in rubber extraction attracted permanent trading posts to the upper Tapajós River, and a Catholic mission was established on the banks of the river.

The rubber boom terminated the isolation of the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós. The population became involved in rubber production for barter, and, although the new economic pursuit did not seriously hamper their tradi-

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive sorties formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

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721 wars. The necessity of ever having to defend their home territory was denied, and provocation by other groups was not remembered as a cause of war in Mundurucú tradition. It might be said that enemy tribes caused the Mundurucú to go to war simply by existing, and the word for enemy meant merely any group that was not Mundurucú.

Despite this seemingly undirected aggressiveness, it was possible to establish through direct questioning and by analysis of field data that certain individual and social goals were realized through warfare. The more important of these goals will be analyzed and their significance as causes of the institution of warfare will be evaluated in the following section.

721 648 The Mundurucú were partially motivated to war by the quest for manufactured goods, which, as noted earlier, were obtained from the Brazilians in return for service as mercenary warriors against unpacified tribes. The symbiotic relationship that became established was noted by Chandless (1862:276) who wrote that the Mundurucú were "honest and faithful," and "very friendly toward white people, warring only against unpacified Indians while protecting those friendly with the whites."

175 726 648 The scope and importance of Mundurucú mercenary activities is impressive. In the early 19th century, the whites urged them to attack the troublesome Mura Indians of the lower Madeira River, and so great was their success that the Mura were scattered as far as the vicinity of Ega, hundreds of miles up the Amazon River (Bates 1863:168–9). Ayres de Casal (1817:237–8) reported that many of the victims of the Mundurucú, among them the Mura, were forced to seek the protection of the white settlements. The traders who employed the Mundurucú thus obtained a dual advantage; the hostiles were not only quelled but were driven into the arms of the labor-hungry whites.

Later references also attest to the alliance with the Brazilians. The Mundurucú were enlisted by colonial officials during the Revolution of the Cabañas in 1835–36, and one of their leaders in the war was given an honorary commission in the army in recognition of his services (Hartt 1885:132). Bates (1863:162) reports that in about 1853 the Mundurucú were instrumental in helping the Brazilians of the Madeira River to suppress the Arara Indians, and Tocantins (1877:140) states that shortly before his journey to the Mundurucú, the latter struck at a marauding group of Parintintin Indians at the behest of the Brazilians. Coudreau (1897:39–40) relates another case of mercenary service by the Mundurucú, whom he characterizes as a people "known for selling their military valor to whoever wants to pay for it." On this occasion, three traders of the Madeira River had been killed by hostile Indians, and their colleagues went to the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River and offered merchandise in return for a retaliatory expedition. The offer was accepted but [164] the sortie was a failure, for most of the 60 men and 40 women who took part in the raid died of illness before contacting the enemy.

175 721 Although mercenary service is one of the more interesting aspects of Mundurucú warfare during the 19th century, contemporary informants hardly thought it worthy of mention. They acknowledged their alliance with

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the whites with some pride, but viewed their efforts as civilizing missions against the "savage Indians," or "Indians of the forest." Their attitude was clearly that they did what had to be done and had always been done; the remuneration was secondary.

It is impossible to determine what proportion of Mundurucú warfare in the last century was instigated by the whites, but it is clear that many, and probably most, raids were conducted against groups having no enmity or even contact with Brazilian society. It is evident that the Mundurucú did not remain warlike solely for reasons of material gain, but mercenary service did serve to encourage the perpetuation of a deeply rooted pattern. Whether or not economic and ecological conditions stimulated warfare in the preceding century is difficult to ascertain. It is known that the area of Mundurucú occupation expanded northward in the late 18th and early 19th centuries into regions formerly inhabited by other groups. While the Mundurucú moved into a vacuum that they had helped to create, it is almost certain that assimilation and depopulation due to disease had decimated the ranks of the previous occupants far more than had Mundurucú arms, and the population of the latter was already on the wane. Additional territory was hardly the goal of the migrant Mundurucú; the lure of manufactured articles available through trade with the white settlements offers a more adequate explanation of their northward drift to the lower Madeira and Tapajós Rivers.

The secondary nature of economic goals in Mundurucú warfare is even more manifest when looting is considered. No objects of significant economic value were taken, and the raiders maintained their mobility by traveling light. Captive children were a far more important class of booty than were material items. Captive-taking was a means of strengthening the group through the addition of new members, but it is not certain whether the increment compensated for the loss of mature warriors and their female followers. If, however, one accepts intense warfare as a given factor, the capture of children was important to its successful continuance. Moreover, the Mundurucú valued and desired children, and the captives were treated as the captor's own.

The Muhdurucú warrior was strongly motivated by the desire to achieve prestige through the demonstration of valor, especially as signified by the taking of a trophy head. The Dajeboiki was subjected to very onerous restrictions, but he was rewarded by the lifetime respect of his fellowmen. However, if he was to maintain his position and advance to the high status of a Muchacha, it was expected that he would also become a font of traditional lore and songs. Prestige was not openly asserted among the Mundurucú, and the tone of the society was strongly egalitarian. Decision-making was decentralized and informal and joint activity depended upon the consensus of the participants, but the successful headhunter exerted considerable influence in the attainment of such consensus—albeit through subdued means.

Despite the fact that individual wars were undertaken because of the desire of the participants to gain prestige, it would be most dubious to admit this as a fundamental cause of warfare. It seems almost a truism to say that

problem of acculturation toward individual families has not been adequately described for South America.

The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 160 years, of which only 80 years have been spent in rubber exploitation. The following description of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the pre-contact, or aboriginal, Mundurucú, but refers to the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucú culture form the subject of another paper [Murphy 1955].

The Mundurucú have inhabited the gallery forests and savannah lands east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The savannah in this region is quite limited, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thick vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open country for their villages because remoteness from the larger streams afforded some protection from river-born enemy attack and relief from the swarms of insects which infest the river banks, while the absence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the dawn surprise attacks favored by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only slightly, isolation from the rivers was not a hardship.

It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Northeastern Algonkians were on the same level of sociocultural integration. The simple, loosely-structured nomadic hunting bands of the Algonkians were roughly equivalent to the semi-sedentary villages of the Mundurucú. In both instances, the local group consisted of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under certain circumstances, the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level, but there were no permanent trans-village political controls. That no Mundurucú village could function in isolation, since there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and ceremonialism, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Similarly, it can be argued that Northeastern Algonkian bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

The Mundurucú and Algonkians were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically and in content. Patrilineal clans and moieties in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and pervasive. Village subsistence was based on slash-and-burn horticulture. Although the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all the village males, garden care and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilocal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

Leacock's reconstruction of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Montagnais shows the nuclear family to have had greater functional importance than among the Mundurucú. The Montagnais family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Mundurucú pattern was the converse. Each Mundurucú household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the seeming paradox of matrilocal extended families in a society of patrilineal clans and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar units in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilocal family of the household, because the focus of his activities was the men's house. All males upon reaching adolescence slept in the men's house, which was located on the western perimeter of the circle of houses composing the village. The females of each household prepared and sent food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most immediate economic tie of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily take of game there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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tribe in general and the extended family in particular. Also, although the men's houses are still built according to the traditional pattern, the dwellings are now built on a rectangular floor plan in contrast to the older elliptical shape.

Modification of the traditional Mundurucú village is even more striking on the shores of the Cururú River. Some villages number almost 100 inhabitants, but others are tiny hamlets of two small houses; none has the men's house. All dwellings face toward the river, but there is no over-all village plan. The houses are constructed of wattle and daub and, but for a few distinctively Mundurucú characteristics, are much like those of the Neo-Brazilian population. This conformity to the architecture of the whites' is even greater on the Tapajós River, where the Mundurucú live in single-family isolation.

The decline of Mundurucú culture is also evident in the physical appearance and dress of the people. All now wear the cheap cotton shirts and trousers or Mother Hubbard dresses sold to them by the traders. The more traditional men of the savannah villages generally wear penis sheath and bark belt beneath this raiment and usually hunt in the latter accoutrements only. The elaborate body and facial tattooing that were formerly the hallmark of all Mundurucú, both male and female, is also on the wane. It is common now to see young people who are half-tattooed, or who have only the first few lines, never completed because of the lapse of the practice.

History

The current decadence of Mundurucú culture is not unexpected. On the contrary, it is remarkable that the Mundurucú have preserved so much, and that they still have a semiautonomous society after more than a century and a half of continuous peaceful relations with the whites. They arrived late on the Amazon historical scene, and were not noted in published reports until 1768.[3] Whether the Mundurucú reported at that time were the members of a war party or had migrated from their home territory is uncertain, for they were seen far to the north of the upper Tapajós country on the Maué-Assú River, a tributary of a channel of the Madeira River named the Paraná Mirím. But their center of strength remained roughly in their present habitat, and they fought a colonial military detachment in that region in 1795.[4] Their defeat at the hands of government troops ended more than two decades of Mundurucú raids upon the Portuguese settlements of the Amazon and ushered in a period of peaceful relations and active alliance with the whites.

Subsequent to their pacification, large numbers of Mundurucú drifted into the vicinity of the growing towns and missions on the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers. The missions are of especial interest to the subject matter of this study. In 1803 the mission of Santa Cruz was established on the lower Tapajós River

[3] The term "white" as applied herein to the Neo-Brazilian population of the Amazon is used as a shorthand way of saying, "people bearing a local variant of Luso-Brazilian culture, and who identify themselves with Brazilian society." Actually, the local people represent varying degrees of Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid admixture.

[3] Monteiro Noronha, 1862.

[4] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4–5.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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175 and was followed by others at Boim and Pinhel.[5] Spix and Martius visited the 797 Missão Nova de Monte Carmel on the Canomá River, another affluent of the Paraná Mirím, in 1819, and reported 1,000 Mundurucú under its control.[6] Baptism and catechization of the Indians proceeded apace with their increasing involvement with the whites, and by 1817 Ayres de Casal stated, "Almost all the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies and some already Christians."[7]

175 The missionaries were by no means the only whites having contact with the 439 Indians, nor was religious instruction the only way in which they were exposed to European culture. The Indians manufactured manioc flour and collected the wild products of the region and sold these articles to the missionaries and traders, who probably were in active competition for the labor and production of the Mundurucú. The influence of the missions weakened with the deterioration of their economic hold over the Indians, and the Mundurucú tended to drift into a single-family settlement pattern along the banks of the streams. Today the Mundurucú of the Madeira River region are nearly assimilated, and those of the lower Tapajós are wholly so.

The bulk of the population, which remained in the area of the upper Tapajós River, experienced no such intensive contact. No missions were established above the great obstacle of the Cachoeira de Maranhão until 1872, and the area became settled by significant numbers of whites only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Before that period, the Mundurucú obtained the manufactured articles which they so avidly desired through mercenary warfare[8] and through the sale of surplus manioc flour and other products to traders who seasonally ascended the Tapajós River.[9] After about 1850, the upper Tapajós country was also penetrated by rubber collectors, to whom the Mundurucú frequently sold foodstuffs. The collectors traded with merchants in the growing town of Itaituba, below the head of navigation of the Tapajós, and returned each rainy season to the less isolated existence there. The contact of the Mundurucú with the Brazilians thus remained seasonal and sporadic.

By the 1870's, the commercial importance of rubber was growing rapidly; greater numbers of whites sought the product each year, and the Mundurucú were drawn increasingly into the extraction industry. The importance of the Indian population in the chronically labor-short Amazon region resulted in renewed efforts to attract or press greater numbers of them into commercial production. This problem and one solution of it were expressed in rather delicate and diplomatic terms by the Brazilian engineer, Antonio Tocantins: "The 175 imperial government has not spared efforts to call into the arms of civilization 797 the hordes that wander in the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was with this 439 purpose that in 1872 the establishment of the Mission of Bacabal was ordered."[10]

The superior of the new mission of Bacabal, Fr. Pelino de Castrovalva, under-

[5] Martius, 1867, p. 395.
[6] Spix and Martius, 1831, p. 1309.
[7] Casal, 1845, p. 237.
[8] See Murphy (1957) for a discussion of this pattern.
[9] Cf. Bates, 1863, p. 233.
[10] Tocantins, 1877, p. 134.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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took his task with some energy. But his methods were somewhat unexpected by the Itaituba merchants, who had strongly favored the establishment of a mission. The priest established himself at a point on the east bank of the upper Tapajós River and proceeded to gather into his "reduction" some 500 Mundurucú who had been dwelling on the banks of the stream. According to a later report by the French explorer, Henri Coudreau, the missionary had little or no contact with the main population in the savannah villages.[11] The mission Indians continued to collect forest products, principally rubber, and to sell them, but they traded only with the priests, who in turn, traded directly with Belém. Thus by-passed, the businessmen of Itaituba immediately protested to the governor of the province of Pará, claiming that the mission monopolized the Indian trade but made little effort toward catechization. The priest inveighed with equal vigor against the corrupting influence of the traders, whom he also accused of gross exploitation of the Indian population. Fr. Pelino lost the fight, and the mission was abandoned in 1876.

It would be extremely difficult to assay the effect of the Mission of Bacabal upon Mundurucú beliefs, for other avenues of communication with the white Christian population were opening rapidly during this period. As the rubber-extraction industry went into its boom period, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós and as far south as the waters of the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. And the rubber collectors correspondingly became more sedentary. Whole families settled in the rubber regions and remained there throughout the year. The new Brazilian population settled among and married with the Mundurucú of the Tapajós shores and had occasional contact with the more isolated dwellers of the interior. The latter fell increasingly into the skein of debt relations upon which the rubber economy was and is based, and the structure of their relations with the traders provided the means by which Christianity and other aspects of Western culture were communicated to them.

Recent Missionization

Active catechization of the Mundurucú Indians effectively lapsed with the abandonment of the Mission of Bacabal. Efforts were renewed by the Diocese of Santarém in 1911, however, and in 1912 German priests of the Franciscan order established a mission on the Cururú River, a tributary of the Tapajós flowing through the southern part of Mundurucú territory. The first task undertaken by the priests was to end Mundurucú warfare. Decline in numbers and involvement in the rubber trade made the Indians receptive to exhortations against war. Their prowess had been on the wane for some time, and wars were infrequent and of small scale by 1912. The next problem, that of bringing the Indians under the complete influence of the mission, met with very limited success until the classical pattern of trading with them was adopted. The priests bought rubber at a higher price than did the traders, and they sold merchandise more cheaply. So great was their success in attracting the Mundurucú that a

[11] Coudreau, 1897, p. 28.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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797 175 [161] rise in rubber prices in the latter part of the 1920's was partly responsible for causing the people of some savannah villages to migrate to the rubber-yielding forests along the Cururú River. Today, some 200 Indians reside at the mission, and another 300 are also clients of the priests.

797 771 Although this is not a study of changes in Mundurucú religion consequent upon proselytization, it is necessary to survey briefly the effects of the mission upon native belief in order to interpret the data to be presented. Catechization is most actively pressed among those Indians on the Cururú River with whom the mission has trade contacts. The other 200 residents of the Cururú River have their closest relations with the local post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios and only occasionally encounter the priests. The residents of the Tapajós River are far too scattered to be accessible with any frequency to the missionaries; these Mundurucú receive Christian influences through prayer sessions and religious fiestas held at the trading posts and through informal discourse with their Brazilian neighbors. The residents of the savannah villages maintain trade relations with the traders of the Tapajós River, but they are visited once a year by a priest who performs baptisms and remains for two or three days in each village to give religious instruction.

The personnel of the mission have proceeded with some degree of tact and restraint in their conversion of the Mundurucú population. All Mundurucú are technically Catholic, having been baptized, but only a minority have received all the subsequent sacraments. Children in residence at the mission school are administered Communion, and at intervals of several years the Bishop of Santarém visits the mission to hold Confirmation rites for those ready to receive them. All Indians in the villages under mission influence are married in religious ceremonies. These rites generally are the result of considerable pressure by the priests and follow a period of marriage according to native custom. The Indians themselves look upon the public marriage ceremony as most embarassing and shame-provoking and make every effort to avoid it. The sacrament of Extreme Unction is administered only to people who die at the mission itself. Otherwise, the customary funeral rites are followed and the body is interred under the floor of the dwelling.

Each Sunday a number of Mundurucú arrive at the mission for the primary purpose of trading and with the secondary intent of visiting; they are strongly urged to attend Sunday Mass, and most do as a means of keeping in the good graces of the prestigeful and respected missionaries. The superior of the mission has spent more than thirty years among the Mundurucú and speaks the language fluently. All of the Mass except the part universally recited in Latin is given in the Indian tongue. The Mundurucú observe the social division of the sexes while attending church. The front pews are occupied by the nuns and the 40-odd children usually resident at the school, and the remaining seats are occupied by the men. Most remain in a rigid kneeling position throughout the service, with the exception of one or two old men who imitate and even anticipate the ritual postures of the nuns. The women sit cross-legged on the floor of the center aisle; many nurse their children during the rites.

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omy of the region. Trade and the patron have thus been the principal instruments in effecting social and cultural change in this part of South America.

THE EARLY CONTACT PERIOD

The Mundurucú were unknown in north Brazil, reported Martius, until 1770, when they began to launch strong attacks on the Portuguese settlements along the shores of the Amazon.[1] It was at this time, also, that they undertook an epic attack into the State of Maranhão, some 500 miles distant. A successful expedition was launched against them in 1795 in the upper Tapajós River region by the governor of Pará, after which they began to drift into the proximity of civilized settlements.[2]

The extent of Mundurucú territory in the eighteenth century is somewhat uncertain. Despite the possibility of a more southerly origin, the Indians themselves maintain that their home has always been in the savannahs to the east of the Tapajós, their scene of mythology is there, and that is where the expedition of 1795 found them. Their late appearance in Amazon history suggests that the Mundurucú occupation of sections of the lower Tapajós River and the country between the Tapajós and lower Madeira River did not much predate 1800 and was the result of the contact. Jesuit missionaries were active on the lower Tapajós River and west to the Madeira during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the Mundurucú are not among the tribes of that sector mentioned by João Bettendorf, the Jesuit chronicler.[3] A Brazilian traveler, Ricardo de Almeida Serra gives further support to this contention in his report on tribes living on or near the

[1] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[2] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4–5.
[3] Bettendorf, 1910.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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131 Tapajós in 1779, which located the "Mondruci nation" on
175 the "Rio Vermelha," probably either the Cadirirí or Cururú River.[4] Also, although Martius was personally acquainted only with the Mundurucú living between the Tapajós and Madeira, he confirmed the upper Tapajós to be their area of greatest strength in 1819.[5]

175 The Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River remained
648 relatively isolated during the early contact period, al-
[166] though large numbers of migrants from these villages moved north to the proximity of the white settlements. This population shift, caused by the lure of manufactured articles, was facilitated by the rapid decimation of the intervening Indian tribes. The complementary, and frequently identical, agencies of colonization and catechization had broken and absorbed those groups, such as the populous Tapajó, which had occupied areas near the Am-
[165] azon, and disease had reduced the ranks of the surviving societies. Mundurucú warfare aided the process. For example, Serra located the Hiauain tribe in an area several days' travel above the first rapids of the Tapajós in 1779,[6] but in 1817 Manoel Ayres de Casal placed them on the east bank of the lower Tapajós, to where they had fled from Mundurucú war parties.[7] The net effect of these demographic changes was to provide the Mundurucú with uninterrupted avenues of access to trade facilities.

175 The Mundurucú who moved into the lower Tapajós val-
648 ley soon entered into close relations with the whites. The
797 mission of Santa Cruz was established in 1803 and was followed by other missions to the Mundurucú at Boim and Pinhel, all on the lower Tapajós.[8] The inhabitants of these

[4] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 3–5.
[5] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[6] Almeida Serra, 1869, p. 3.
[7] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 232.
[8] Martius, 1867, p. 395.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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settlements traded to obtain Western goods. The process of assimilation proceeded with such rapidity that by 1817 Ayres de Casal was able to say, "Almost all the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies and some already Christians." [9] The Mundurucú occupants of the lower Tapajós were not, however, completely mission-dominated, as "a quite considerable distance above Vilanova de Santa Cruz on the west bank of the Tapajós, there is a village inhabited by another horde of Mundurucús, still pagans, and already having gardens, some already using trousers, and the women skirts, all of cotton." [10] There is no mention in the sources of the presence of the traditional village and men's house on the lower Tapajós. Apparently, the migrants did not transfer the native community organization to their new habitat.

The Madeira River area was likewise a region of post-contact penetration by the Mundurucú. This contradicts the information given to Lt. Herndon of the U. S. Navy by Alphonse de Lincourt, a French engineer of Santarém. According to the latter, the Mundurucú, after becoming friendly with the whites, moved out of the region between the Tapajós and the Madeira and retired to "the deep solitudes of the Tapajós above the cataracts." [11] It is much more probable that the Madeira region was an area of late eighteenth-century hostilities in which members of the marauding Mundurucú war parties had settled near the Brazilians and were later followed by other migrants.

Johann B. von Spix and Karl von Martius state that in 1819 the Missão Nova de Monte Carmel on the Canomá River in the lower Madeira drainage had 1,000 Mundurucú under its control.[12] The Indians were settled at the mis-

[9] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 237.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 239.
[11] Herndon and Gibbon, 1854, p. 311.
[12] Spix and Martius, 1831, p. 1309.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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175 sion and were also scattered throughout the surrounding
648 forest. They were already conducting trade with the
[797] whites in manioc flour, sarsaparilla, and *guaraná* and ap-
[439] parently did not have the men's house and the other accoutrements of the traditional men's organization. According to these explorers, the Indians were found mainly on
[131] the Canomá and its tributary, the Secundurý. About forty years later, Mundurucú inhabitants lived also on the Abacaxís and Maué-Assú rivers, two other tributaries of the Paraná-Mirim, a channel that connects the Amazon with the lower Madeira.

The Mundurucú of that area are of interest, because the earliest assimilation of large numbers of the tribe took place in the Madeira River region. It was there too that a long tradition of friendly relations with the whites was established; this friendship was to a large extent sealed by the coöperation of the Mundurucú in the quelling of tribes of the region still hostile to the colonists. In the late eighteenth century, two tribes of the lower Madeira, the Mura and the Arara, especially the former, waged incessant warfare against the white settlements and did much to impede the colonization of the central Amazon Valley. Unable to cope with the Mura, the whites enlisted the aid of the Mundurucú and from this date, according to Charles F. Hartt, the whites and the Mundurucú were allies.[13] By 1819, Ayres de Casal reported the lower Madeira River town of Borba to have a nearby settlement of Mura who had sought refuge from the Mundurucú,[14] and in 1852, Henry Walter Bates, the noted English naturalist, found fugitive remnants of the tribe scattered along the Amazon as far as the town of Catuá, a short distance below the mouth of the Rio Teffé.[15] At the time Bates wrote, the at-

[13] Hartt, 1885, pp. 116–117.
[14] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 238.
[15] Bates, 1863, p. 168.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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tentions of the Mundurucú had already shifted to the Arara Indians, with similar results. In addition to their activity in quelling hostile Indians, the Mundurucú also assisted the Portuguese authorities in the revolution of the Cabanas in 1835–1836. This aid consisted mainly of mop-up operations conducted against the rebels after the strength of the revolt was broken.

With friendly and mutually profitable relations established through coöperation in warfare and continued within the framework of a social and economic system relating Mundurucú and Brazilians through trade, the tribesmen who moved to the Madeira and lower Tapajós became progressively assimilated into Amazonian society. In the latter region, Mundurucú society was losing its boundaries and cohesiveness by the middle of the nineteenth century. Bates reported that in 1852 the Mundurucú living on the Cuparí River, an affluent of the lower Tapajós, had recently abandoned village life and were scattered for six or seven miles along the river in twenty to thirty houses.[16] Most of these houses were of the Brazilian type or transitional to it. Few people were tattooed, all were clothed, and some spoke Portuguese in addition to their native Mundurucú. The Indians were under the control of Brazilian "captains of workers" on the lower Tapajós. Ostensibly, the duty of the latter was to supply crews for trading boats, but the Indians were also exploited by the captains for their own profit. Mundurucú society was becoming fragmented throughout the lower Tapajós region, for Bates reported the Santa Cruz mission to contain only thirty to forty families in 1852,[17] and by about 1880 it was a caboclo village. Similarly, Coudreau states that the population decline in the mission village of Uxituba, near modern Itaituba, was as follows: 1833, 485 Mundurucú; 1848, 343;

[16] *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 240.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

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175
182 1869, 100; 1895, 50.[18] The remaining fifty had already lost
648 their identity as Mundurucú or as Indians. Hartt likewise
[161] reported in 1885 that "the Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in great part been lost."[19]

On the Madeira waters, much the same process ran its course. In 1865, Louis Agassiz, the naturalist, and his wife traveled on the Paraná-Mirím and the lower part of the Maué-Assú River. On the latter stream they found a Mundurucú village consisting of two parallel rows of houses
[797] with a Catholic church at one end of an open square.[20] At the time of their visit the population was scattered in the forest where they were working in their gardens and collecting forest products. The full population gathered only three or four times a year for festivals. Only a few Indians
[191] spoke Portuguese, according to Mrs. Agassiz,[21] although there were undoubtedly more bilinguals who preferred not to disclose the fact. Most of the people lacked the characteristic Mundurucú tattooing, and all wore clothes. William Chandless, an English explorer who visited the region only a few years later, reported that the Mundurucú "are civilized, and live in families not as in tribal life."[22]
[249] They were primarily engaged in the planting of tobacco
[314] and the collection of *guaraná*, sarsaparilla, and *copaiba* oil. The movement of people from the savannahs of the Tapajós to the upper Secundurý River was apparently still continuing, for in 1870 Chandless reported "The Indians of the Rio de Canumá, as far as I went, are much like those on the Maué-assú: higher up the tattooed sons

[18] Coudreau, 1897, p. 8.
[19] Hartt, 1885, p. 117.
[20] Agassiz, 1869, p. 308.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[22] Chandless, 1870, p. 424.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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of the Campinas [savannahs] are numerous."[33] Contact between the two regions has completely terminated since that time, and the modern Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós know of their brothers on the Madeira waters only by vague reports. I did not visit the latter region, but verbal accounts from Brazilians acquainted with the area indicate that the Madeira population is well assimilated.

The assimilation of these Mundurucú has been made complete by extensive intermarriage, usually of the common-law type, between Mundurucú and caboclos. These unions are almost always between Brazilian men and Indian women, because the rural Brazilians regard it degrading for a "civilized" woman to marry an Indian. Also, there has historically been a shortage of women in the Amazon, because the immigrant rubber tappers have generally been unmarried men. The children of such marriages are reared to be Brazilians and are no longer considered Indians despite their mixed ancestry. Genetically, the present neo-Brazilian, or caboclo, population of the Tapajós is partly Mundurucú. The mother of the mayor of the municipality of Itaituba was Mundurucú, and he is quite proud of this. He and the rest of the people of the Tapajós agree that the Mundurucú are "good people and hard workers."

THE LATER CONTACT PERIOD

The first half of the nineteenth century saw intensive contact between Brazilians and Mundurucú in the region adjacent to the Amazon, and in the second half of the century these Mundurucú merged progressively with caboclo society. But the bulk of the tribe had remained in their homeland on the upper Tapajós River and did not experi-

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 425.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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175 648 ence any large-scale direct contact with the whites until a comparatively late period.

Before the rubber boom, the hinterlands of the Amazon Valley were only marginally penetrated and exploited by white settlers, and colonization was largely restricted to the great river itself and the lower reaches of its tributaries. Exploration for minerals, however, had attracted white men to the headwaters of the southern affluents of the Amazon. Access to these regions was generally from the south, across the Planalto de Mato Grosso. The middle reaches of the Tapajós remained relatively undisturbed. The only major exception to this isolation of the Mundurucú country and the tribal areas to the south took place during the long period of Paraguayan-Brazilian hostilities, which closed the Paraguay River to Brazilian trade and isolated Cuyabá, the commercial and political center of Mato Grosso. Most of Cuyabá's commerce then had to be conducted with cities on the Amazon, and the southern tributaries were used as trade arteries. This trade gained considerable magnitude on the Tapajós. Chandless reported that several fleets of ten to fifteen canoes made one round trip a year between Cuyabá and Itaituba, at the head of deep-water navigation on the Tapajós.[24] The members of these fleets undoubtedly had contacts with the Indians along their routes, but without deep or lasting effects on the latter. The Brazilians' task was to freight goods from one port to the other in the shortest possible time. They neither tarried nor traded with the natives.

Until the expansion of trade relations to the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós, the most important relation between the tribe and the whites was through its service to them as mercenary warriors. The early action against the Mura and Arara Indians of the lower Madeira River was prob-

[24] Chandless, 1862, p. 278.

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ably principally undertaken by Mundurucú who had emigrated to this section. But their rapid engagement in trade and the resultant fragmentation of the native social organization made the migrants ill adapted to warfare, and the burden of mercenary activities shifted to those Mundurucú who had remained on the upper Tapajós.

Raiding on behalf of the whites continued throughout the nineteenth century. Coudreau described one such expedition in 1895.[25] Three white traders had been killed by hostile Indians on the Madeira River, and a group of merchants approached the Mundurucú to enlist their aid. The Indians were promised advance payment in manufactured goods, and a war party consisting of sixty men and forty women set forth. They traveled to the upper Secundurý River across an area of savannah between that stream and the Tapajós; this route had long been the major means of communication and emigration between the Mundurucú settlements of the upper Tapajós and those on the Madeira waters. This particular expedition met disaster, however, for the virulent malaria of the Secundurý River killed almost all participants.

Their military service for the whites was an important factor in maintaining the stability of Mundurucú culture. The Indians had already become dependent on Western commodities, and warfare provided a means of obtaining them that did not necessitate direct labor for the whites in an extraction industry. Since the latter occupation is, as shall be seen, destructive of the traditional society, the Mundurucú were, in effect, granted a reprieve from more complete participation in commerce and its effects. Furthermore, they were encouraged by the white men to destroy other tribes and thus to continue a pattern that was dominant in the culture. Warfare contributed greatly to

[25] Coudreau, 1897, pp. 38–40.

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social cohesion also, because it provided a rallying point for tribal coöperation and a common goal in the pursuit of which factional differences were forgotten. And it afforded an escape valve for aggressions that could not be safely unleashed within the society.

These factors helped to preserve the integrity and autonomy of Mundurucú society during a period of stress and encroachment. Their coöperation with the whites set a pattern of friendship and mutual respect. The Indians were valuable to the whites, and the latter did not take any action that would disturb the symbiotic relationship. Similarly, the natives relied on the Brazilians for trade goods, and restricted their military activities (which were not by any means always or even usually at the immediate behest of the whites) to tribes that were not yet pacified. And in no case did they war upon the whites. When the great rubber boom arrived, the Mundurucú were gradually and peacefully recruited into the labor force, in contrast to the experience of other tribes, and the ease of the transition is no doubt partly attributable to the ties of economic dependency and friendship which had become established.

Trade and exploitation of natural resources came late to the upper Tapajós because of the impediments to navigation imposed by its many rapids, and also because of the specific commodities available there. The rich Tapajós rubber did not begin to assume great economic importance until well into the second half of the century, while the Madeira waters had abundant resources of *guaraná* and sarsaparilla, both of which were intensively sought in the early nineteenth century; and agricultural products were traded in the latter area on a large scale at an earlier date, also, because Brazilian markets were not far.

Shortly before the mid-century the Mundurucú of the

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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upper Tapajós began to supplement their sporadic income as warriors with the proceeds of trade. The early commerce with these Indians was carried on entirely by the itinerant traders, *regatões*—as late as 1852, there were no permanent Brazilian settlements south of Itaituba.[26] The region was still only occasionally penetrated by Brazilians, and trade was too small to warrant permanent commercial posts. The regatões served the purpose, traveling throughout the region in canoes of from five to ten tons capacity, selling the merchandise that they carried aboard, and receiving garden and forest products in return. Bates described this early trade as follows:

> They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós] make large plantations of mandioca and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajós to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lb. each) annually to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They also gather large quantities of sarsaparilla, india-rubber, and Tonka beans, in the forests. The traders, on their arrival at the Campinas (the scantily wooded region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucús beyond the cataracts) have first to distribute their wares—cheap cotton clothes, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cashaca—amongst the minor chiefs and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce.[27]

As Bates noted, the trade was not conducted between individuals but between the trader and the village chiefs. The regatão gave merchandise to the chief and told him what he wanted in exchange; it was the chief's duty to exhort his people to production and, also, to distribute the trade goods among them. The people themselves had little or no contact with the traders, and only the chief had an account. It seems almost unnecessary to say that the exploitation of the illiterate Indians was extreme and that

[26] Bates, 1863, p. 233.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 243-244.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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the Brazilian traders cheated the Indians mercilessly. Accounts were and are to this day arranged so as to keep the Indian almost continually in debt. The trader thereby attaches the labor of his Indian clients and induces the creditor chiefs to exact as much work from their people as possible. As a case in point, in 1875 Antonio Tocantins found one Mundurucú chief to owe the then phenomenal sum of 6,876 milreis.[28]

The Indian trade reported by Bates was mainly in manioc flour, which was also a major product of the Mundurucú of the Madeira waters visited in 1819 by Spix and Martius. Only small amounts of rubber were collected on the upper Tapajós in 1852, but the importance of this commodity soared rapidly in the next quarter century. Tocantins reported it to be the principal item of commerce in 1875.[29] By 1960, Brazilian rubber tappers had begun to penetrate the Tapajós valley during the dry season. They were found in greatest concentration below the Cachoeira de Chacarão, although some drifted further upstream. Chandless, in 1860, encountered a group of clothed Mundurucú working for two runaway Negro slaves on the Juruena River, a tributary of the Tapajós.[30] More Mundurucú were noted in small settlements on the banks of the Tapajós far downstream.[31] During the period of which Chandless wrote, only a small percentage of the Mundurucú of the savannah country were working in rubber. He commented that "the people here [the Mundurucú] trade in salsa [sarsaparilla] and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers."[32] During the next twenty years, they became more completely committed to the

[28] Tocantins, 1877, p. 154.
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 149–154.
[30] Chandless, 1862, p. 275.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 277.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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rubber trade, and further contact was provided by the establishment of the mission of Bacabal on the upper Tapajós in 1872. The Silesian priest in charge attempted to protect the Indians from the traders and is said by Tocantins to have told them, "My children, you owe nothing to the contrabandist regatões; now you will work only for yourselves, your women, and your children." [20] The priest's technique for protecting the Indians was, quite simply, to monopolize their trade. The rubber interests were powerful, however, and in 1876 he was dismissed upon complaint of the businessmen of Itaituba, and the mission was abandoned.

Concurrent with the rise and fall of the mission of Bacabal, increasing numbers of permanent houses of commerce were established on the banks of the upper Tapajós and its tributaries. The importance of rubber had resulted in regular exploitation of the resource, and the system of establishing proprietary rights to rubber regions was extended to the upper Tapajós. This was done through grants by the state or purchase from it, or by simple squatter rights perpetuated by force and registry on the tax rolls. Since that time, the basic social and economic organization for the exploitation of rubber has changed little, although the violence of the boom days has subsided and the Tapajós has declined into an economically stagnant, poverty-stricken backwater.

The Mundurucú became absorbed into the patron-client system and they also came into closer proximity to the whites, who poured into the region as the rubber boom accelerated. Although the larger part of the Indian population remained in the savannah villages and collected rubber for only brief periods, there was a steady egress of people to the major streams. Tocantins states that many

[20] Tocantins, 1877, p. 140.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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Tocantins states that many
Mundurucú were also being pressed into household servitude by the whites,[34] a practice common to all of Amazonia at that time. Many Mundurucú accompanied their patrons to work in different regions, and others remained all year at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illustrative of this spread of Mundurucú over the upper Tapajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Mundurucú population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in 1895 as 173; of the Juruena-Bararaty rivers, 72; and of the São Manoel River, 49.[35] All these scattered Mundurucú were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average population of ten in each house. This process was obviously a continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the Mundurucú to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tributaries.

The population of the savannah villages decreased during this period because of death from disease and loss of people to the river banks. However, the villages themselves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of losing function, actually became more important, and for some time the villages became politically more tightly integrated. The chief now had the additional position as intermediary with the white man and as such was the source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucú still speak of the days when "chiefs were strong and bought everything for the people." After the patrons became firmly established and gained influence among the Indians, they began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 148.
[35] Coudreau, 1897, p. 166.

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Second, warfare, for both mercenary pay and trophy heads, persisted on a somewhat reduced scale and was especially successful, as Hartt notes, because of the acquisition of firearms.[84] The continuance of warfare helped to maintain the cohesion of the tribe and village as social units for the reasons already discussed, and also because it bolstered the positions of the chiefs by activating their roles as war leaders.

The Mundurucú who remained in their traditional villages in the savannahs east of the upper Tapajós were not as completely absorbed into the invading Brazilian society as the people who migrated to the river banks to tap rubber. But they, too, sought trade goods, and these, increasingly, were available only through rubber production. The most troublesome tribes of the region were largely pacified, and the demand for Mundurucú military service had consequently declined. Also, the Indians were more valuable to the traders in collecting rubber, which by the end of the century was netting the traders fabulous monetary returns. The recruitment of Indians into rubber collecting did not cause the immediate disintegration of their village life. Rubber was collected by them only from June to September, during which period they left their savannah villages to live in temporary shelters at their rubber avenues. This seasonal fractionation of the society had a precedent in the traditional practice of scattering along the streams to hunt and fish during the dry season. As in times past, when rubber collection was finished, the dispersed population reunited in their villages, where the native round of activities persisted throughout the remaining nine months of the year.

The Mundurucú territory also shrunk, for traditional-type villages no longer existed on the waters of the Creporý River in 1895 when Coudreau ascended the Ta-

[84] Hartt, 1885, p. 131.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

131 195 pajés,[87] although Chandless had stated that they inhabited the headwaters of that river in 1860.[88] Thus, by 1895 at the latest, the territory of the savannah Mundurucú had diminished to its present confines between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, and the number of communities was no doubt correspondingly smaller. The rest of the region in which Mundurucú were scattered in rubber production was occupied jointly with the Brazilians. Those remaining [177] on the savannahs had already been exposed to civilization. They had acquired steel tools and clothes from the whites, and their warfare was more restricted; they had suffered losses in their material culture, and they had been exposed to Christianity. But the bulk of Mundurucú culture persisted.

175 182 648 177 By 1912–1914, depopulation, the demands of the rubber economy, scarcity of nearby hostile Indian tribes, and mission influence had combined to end warfare. This was a severe blow to the native culture, for one of its central foci had now disappeared; the primary interest of the Mundurucú male had been valor, trophy-head and captive taking, and the great ceremonies centering on the heads. It is a loss still felt today by the older Mundurucú men, who now look skeptically at the future and nostalgically at the past.

175 439 648 It was in this period, also, that the rubber boom collapsed, with the ultimate effect of giving a short extension to the life of the native society. Rubber collection decreased in importance and yielded decidedly less return. The produce and labor of the Indians were no longer so eagerly sought, and there was a decrease in numbers of Brazilian rubber tappers and traders in the area. But the Mundurucú had already become completely dependent

[87] Cardozo, 1957, p. 30.
[88] Chandless, 1862, p. 277.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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on manufactured goods and continued to tap rubber, although on a reduced scale.

In 1911, a German priest, Fr. Hugo Mense of the newly established Franciscan diocese of Santarém, ascended the Tapajós and chose a site on the Cururú River where he established a mission. The location decided upon was about two miles north of the Cururu on the boundary between the savannahs and the gallery forest that borders the stream. In 1912, the mission personnel numbered two priests and three nuns. The priests attempted to catechize the Indians while the nuns were in charge of the mission school, which, according to William C. Farabee, had twenty-six Indian and Brazilian children in 1916.[39] At that time, the Cururú region was populated only during the dry season, when the Indians moved from the savannahs to the Cururú to collect rubber. During this period, they were visited regularly by merchants who plied the river. Many people of the savannah villages, within a range of from three hours to two days by foot from the Cururú, did not, however, tap rubber.

In 1918, a new priest arrived at the mission who urged the relocation of the mission because of the distance from the river bank and the shortage of agricultural land in its immediate vicinity. Plans were made for a larger, permanent, self-sustaining establishment and to that end, the mission moved to its present site on the banks of the Cururú, began to raise its own crops, and instituted a policy of trading with the Indians. That policy gave the mission an income and simultaneously removed the Indian from his dependence on the traders. The priests had recognized the great influence held by the patrons over their Indian clients and saw that it would be to the advantage of the mission if it assumed this role. But in the beginning

[39] Farabee, 1917, p. 138.

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175 797 little progress was made in attracting the Indians to the mission. The priests made the rounds of the villages preaching and baptizing, and children were recruited for the school, but such contacts were sporadic.

In the late 1920's, the world price of rubber rose somewhat as a result of export restrictions imposed on the planters of British Malaya, and the attraction of higher returns caused the Indians to become more engaged in trade. This meant, of course, that more Indians came into contact with the mission in its new role as a trading post. The regatões still offered competition, but the Mundurucú, who knew nothing of weights and prices, nonetheless learned that they received a greater return for their rubber and manioc flour from the missionaries. They came to tap rubber in increasing numbers along the Cururú, and many left the savannah villages for all-year residence on its shores. By the 1930's, permanent villages began to grow up on the river banks. This population shift proceeded so rapidly that by 1950 there were only about 360 Mundurucú left on the savannahs, whereas the Cururú population numbered 700.

175 439 797 [361] [166] [162]

Of less importance in attracting a permanent population to the Cururú was the founding on that river of the Mundurucú post of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service in 1941. This post followed the establishment of an Indian reservation in 1939 that included most of the country lying inland from the Tapajós and bounded by the Cururú and Tropas rivers. Traders were barred from the reservation but since no inspection points were set up on the Tropas, Cabitutú, and Cadirirí rivers, the Tapajós River patrons and some regatões were still able to visit the savannahs. However, the Cururú, where the bulk of the Mundurucú population now lives, was effectively closed

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12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by the mission and the post.

The population shift to the Cururú has had profound effects on Mundurucú society. Before 1930 there were fifteen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and the Cururú. Today there are only seven, for the eight villages nearest to the Cururú were abandoned after their populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the river. On the Cururú, there are no traditional villages. There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Brazilian. Six of the seven remaining savannah villages maintain the men's house and a modified form of the native dwelling.

Except for the village of Cauí, established in the 1930's by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the Cururú, all contemporary savannah villages are two to three days' march from the shores of the Cururú. The contact between the two populations is diminishing; they trade in different places, their way of life has become differentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The Cururú River people ridicule the *campineiro*, the Brazilian term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Cururú-River Mundurucú, because they at the same time respect the campineiro for his greater knowledge of the traditional culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities, and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The missionaries have inspired many of the stereotypes of the campineiro as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to persuade the people to abandon their native practices and accept missionary instruction. The campineiro, on the other

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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hand, refers to the people living on the Cururú as *pariwat*, or "foreigners," because they live like the Brazilians. However, his feelings toward the Cururú people are not inspired by the fear and alienation felt by the latter. Rather, he is puzzled and chagrined that they remain aloof from him and will not accept him, although they are all Mundurucú.

The split within the tribe occurred only during the past three decades, but it has contributed to a decrease in migration from the remaining savannah villages to the Cururú. People are still leaving the savannahs, but usually to move to the Tapajós or to the lower reaches of the streams on the headwaters of which they live. The ambivalent attitude of the Cururú people makes that river decidedly unattractive to them.

CHRONOLOGY

For purposes of greater clarity, the history of the contact between the Mundurucú and the whites can be conveniently divided into four distinct periods. These are based on significant changes in the structure of Brazilian-Mundurucú relations.

1770–1795.—During this period, the warlike Mundurucú came into contact with the Portuguese colonists and directed attacks against them in the region along the Amazon River between Gurupá, on the east, and the lower Madeira River, on the west. The first Mundurucú settling of the latter area took place during these years and was probably motivated by the desire to obtain trade goods. In 1795, a punitive expedition against the villages of the east side of the upper Tapajós River, the original Mundurucú territory, ended hostilities.

1795–1850.—The Mundurucú, at peace with the whites,

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were used by the latter as mercenary warriors in the battle to rid the central Amazon Valley of hostile Indians. The lucrative aspect of these wars no doubt attracted increasing numbers of Mundurucú into more immediate relations with the whites and induced the Indians to settle in the proximity of the Brazilians. Of even greater influence in stimulating migration to the Madeira waters were the manufactured goods offered by white traders and missionaries in return for *farinha* (coarse manioc flour), sarsaparilla, and guaraná. The same lure caused Mundurucú to settle on the lower Tapajós, below the rapids. 175

The Mundurucú who remained on the upper Tapajós were comparatively undisturbed during this period. They occasionally warred on behalf of the whites, and a sporadic trade, principally in farinha, existed between them and wandering traders, or regatões.

1850–1914.—After 1850, the Mundurucú of the lower Tapajós and Madeira regions became progressively assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. However, the emphasis in the Amazonian extraction economy was already shifting from farinha, guaraná, and sarsaparilla, the chief sources of wealth of the lower Madeira, to rubber. After about 1860–1870 the upper Tapajós became permanently inhabited by rubber tappers, and patrons acquired rights to rubber-producing regions. The Mundurucú of the savannahs became active rubber producers, and a gradual attenuation of warfare against other tribes began. Social integration was partly preserved by the practice of returning to the native villages after each rubber-tapping season, and the traditional way of life went on largely unaltered during most of the year. Also, the chief, whose importance in war was declining, maintained his prestige by acting as a middleman between his people and the trader.

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175 Throughout this period, there was a gradual drift of population from the villages to the main stream of the Tapajós where these migrants ultimately became assimilated.

After 1914.—In the period of 1912–1914, Mundurucú warfare ceased completely. This period also coincides roughly with the end of the Amazonian rubber boom. The Tapajós River lost part of its Brazilian population, and many Mundurucú withdrew from rubber production. In the late 1920's, a rise in the purchasing power of rubber brought increased participation of the Indians in rubber tapping. The demands of rubber production and the influence of the Cururú mission, established in 1911, caused a large-scale migration of people from the savannah villages nearest the Cururú to the banks of that river. These migrants did not establish villages of the traditional type, and the native culture there declined in general. Also, the remaining savannah dwellers, who are more inclined to preserve the old culture, have become estranged from their fellow Mundurucú of the Cururú.

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The Agriculture of the Mundurukú Indians *

*Most of the data that follow were gathered in 1957, in the course of a two-month stay among the Indians of the Franciscan mission of Cururú and vicinity. My principal informants were the Mundurukú Tomé, Cirilo, and Antônia. But I am also indebted to the mission fathers for much valuable data, for which I am grateful.

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Protásio Frikel

Goeldi Museum

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I. Present-day knowledge of Mundurukú agriculture
II. Garden methods
III. Social factors
IV. Native terminology

I. Present-day knowledge of Mundurukú agriculture

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What we know of Mundurukú agriculture is little, and most of it is based on the reports of nineteenth-century travelers. Already in those days the Mundurukú were pictured as a people who possessed a certain level of primitive agriculture. Those /travelers/ speak of the Mundurukú as living on the margins of the Tapajós River and as already being in the first stage of acculturation to the environment of the time. They deal with the subject of "agriculture" as if it were an ancient culture trait among these Indians. This may indeed be the truth, for we cannot assert the contrary, /2/ although certain

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*241 174 mythological and legendary traditions of the Mundurukú lead us to believe that they were not always a people given to the cultivation of plants. This, however, /applies to/ a remote past, which is no longer verifiable nowadays. In historic times, ever since they came *241 into contact with civilized people and came to be known, they have ● 175 been observed to cultivate gardens and to make manioc flour. It is [269] true that the Mundurukú gained greater fame as warriors, for when- [721] ever the opportunity arose they did not hesitate to attack even cities such as Santarém (1780) and Gurupá (1784). (1)

1. Horton, 1948: 272-273.

As colonial rule was strengthened, however, and warring activities decreased, these Indians seem to have tended increasingly toward a more stable way of life and a more extensive and more diversified agriculture. I believe that available texts must be interpreted in this light. Even though they are not all in agreement, the traveling writers provide glimpses of a development in the cultivation methods of these Indians.

*241 Martius, speaking in a general way of the Tupi tribes of the [361] upper Tapajós, including the Mundurukú, regards them, precisely because of this incipient agriculture, as seminomadic. He says: "They practice a primitive agriculture and, therefore, they are not nomads in the strict sense of the term; their villages, however, do not remain immutably in the same place." (2) Monteiro Baena

2. "Sie treiben einen nothduerftigen Landbau, sind daher im strengeren Sinne keine Nomaden; doch bleiben ihre Niederlassungen nicht unveraenderlich an derselben Stelle." Martius, 1867: 201.

[175] testifies that at first, in the years following the pacification of the Mundurukú, their propensity for agriculture was not very great or very strong. Referring to the "Mundrucús" forcefully brought to and

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*241 resettled on the Maué-assu River /Maués-Guassú ?/ and in the former mission of Vila Nova da Rainha in 1800 and 1803 respectively, he [195] says that they "... showed little inclination to prepare gardens for manioc flour." (3)

3. Monteiro Baena, 1843: 283.

Later, Martius, in his more extensive report on the Mundurukú, does not mention qualitative cultivation but refers merely to the quantitative production of the gardens, i.e., he alludes to the large volume of manioc flour produced by the Tapajós Mundurukú, but /3/ he is not familiar with, or at least does not mention, the plant varieties they cultivate, although they undoubtedly raised more than the cotton and manioc roots he mentions. He attributes the quantita- [648] tive development to the power and warring strength of the tribe, which thus protected its gardens against the attacks, thefts, and raids frequently carried out by other tribes, especially the Mura. Martius speaks as follows: "In the arts of agriculture, the Mundurucú merely appear to be ahead when compared with the others, while /actually/ the power of the populous and warlike tribe ... makes the gardens [161] safer, and because the somewhat dense population can no longer de- [248] pend exclusively on hunting and fishing. They plant a little cotton [251] and a lot of manioc roots, the flour of which, packed in baskets and [439] large palm leaves ..., they have been selling to the boatmen of the Tapajós ever since they established peaceful contact." (4)

4. Martius, 1867: 390: "In den Kuensten des Landbaus scheinen die Mundurukú nur insoweit Andern voranzustehen, als die Macht des zahlreichen und kriegerischen Stammes ... den Pflanzungen mehr Sicherheit verleiht, und die etwas gedraengtere Bevoelkerung nicht mehr bloss von Jagd und Fischerei abhaengig seyn kann. Sie bauen

2: Steinen- -472 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Apiaca S.P2
Cayabi
Mundurucu SQ13

B /391 cont./
175 enemies of the Bakaïrí, but there is no more specific informa-
648 tion about them. The Nambiquara and Tapanhuna, enemies of the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region; of the Tapanhuna, Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakaïrí

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* Noticia da Provincia de Mato Grosso, S. Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language; unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language of the Bakaïrí, let alone on that of the Tapanhuna, /392/ and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Bororó.

BM A statement in the fortieth volume of the Revista Trimensal
175 do Instituto Historico (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 97) is worth
648 mentioning; it refers to the tribe of the Mundrukú /Mundurucu/,
[113] once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and
M lower Tapajoz, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio
[131] Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks:
BM "In former times they also overcame the Bakaïrí, whom they
[101] call Mureufuâtes and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso where they ('aldeïert') settled in villages." The latter addition shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times,
B in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this
M passage, that the Baikïrí lived in the province of Pará; among
[131] the dwellers along the lower Tapajoz, the region of the upper course and of the source arms Juruena and Arinos is called "Matogrosso"; the Mundrukú themselves lived next to the Apiaká in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Saruma, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingú area with
B their attacks. The Bakaïrí, who called them "Mandurukú," re-
BM membered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer
[101] occur, since they have moved to the north.

B The chief enemies of the West Bakaïrí, and probably even
A of the united Bakaïrí, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabí.
173 "Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the
648 report of the Directoria dos Indios. The following is what I was
ooo